

A
PERSWASIVE
TO
Moderation
TO
Church Dissenters,
In Prudence and Conscience:
Humbly Submitted to the
KING
AND HIS
Great Council.

By one of the Humblest and most Dutiful
of his Dissenting Subjects.

W. Penn
Let your Moderation be known unto all men, for the Lord is at Hand,
Phil. 4. 5.

A Christian Toleration often dissipates their Strength, whom Rougher
Opposition fortifies, K. Charles 1. to the late King.

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THE PREFACE.

Having of late time observ'd the *Heat, Aversion* and *Scorn* with which some men have treated all thoughts of Ease to *Church Dissenters*, I confess, I had a more then ordinary Curiosity to examine the grounds those Gentlemen went upon : For I could not tell how to think Moderation should be a Vice, where Christianity was a Virtue, when the great Doctor of that Religion commands, that *Our Moderation be known unto all men* ; and why ? *For the Lord's at hand* : And what to do ? but to judge our *Rancor*, and retaliate and punish our *Bitterness of Spirit*. And to say true , 'tis a severe reflection we draw upon our selves, that though *Pagan Emperors* could endure the *Addresses of primitive Christians*, and *Christian Cæsars* receive the *Apologies of Infidels*, for Indulgence, yet it should be thought, of some men, an Offence to seek it, or have it of a Christian Prince, whose Interest I dare say it is, and who himself so lately wanted it : But the Consideration of the Reason of this Offence, will encrease our admiration ; for they tell us, 'tis *dangerous*

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gerous to the Prince to suffer it, while the Prince is himself a *Dissenter*: This Difficulty is beyond all skill to remove, that it should be against the Interest of a *Dissenting* Prince to indulge *Dissent*. For tho it will be granted there are *Dissenters* on differing Principles from those of the Prince, yet they are still *Dissenters*, and *Dissent* being the Princes Interest, it will naturally follow, that those *Dissenters* are in the Interest of the Prince, whether they think on it or no.

Interest will not Lye: Men embark'd in the same Vessel, seek the safety of the *Whole*, in their *Own*, whatever other Differences they may have. And *Self-Safety* is the highest worldly Security a Prince can have; for tho all *Parties* would rejoice their own Principles prevailed, yet every one is more solicitous about its own Safety, then the others Verity. Wherefore it cannot be unwise, by the security of All, to make it the Interest as well as Duty of All, to advance that of the Publick.

Angry things then set aside, As matters now are, *What is best to be done?* This I take to be the Wise Man's Question, as to consider and answer it, will be his Business. *Moderation* is a Christian Duty, and it has ever been the Prudent Man's Practice. For those *Governments* that have used it in their Conduct have Succeeded best in all Ages.

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I remember, it is made in *Livy* the Wisdom of the *Romans*, that they relaxed their hand to the *Privenates*, and thereby made them most faithful to their Interest. And it prevailed so much with the *Petilians*, that they would endure any Extremity from *Hannibal*, rather than desert their Friendship, even then, when the *Romans* discharged their Fidelity, and sent them the Dispair of knowing they could not relieve them. So did one Act of *Humanity* overcome the *Falisci* above Arms: Which confirms that noble Saying of *Seneca*, *Mitius imperanti, Melius paretur*, the Mildest Conduct is best obeyed. A Truth Celebrated by *Grotius* and *Campanella*: Practised doubtless, by the bravest Princes: For *CYRUS* exceeded when he Built the *Jews* a Temple, and himself no *Jew*: *ALEXANDER* Astonish'd the Princes of his Train with the profound Veneration he paid the High Priest of that People: And *AUGUSTUS* was so far from Suppressing the *Jewish Worship*, that he sent *Hecatombs* to *Jerusalem* to encrease their Devotion. *Moderation* fill'd the Reigns of the most Renowned *Cæsars*: And story says, they were *Nero's* and *Caligula's* that lov'd Cruelty.

But others tell us that Dissenters are mostly *Antimonarchical*, and so not to be Indulged, and that the Agreement of the Church of *England* and *Rome* in *Monarchy* and *Hierarchy*, with their neerness in other things

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things should oblige her to grant the *Roman Catholicks* a special Ease, exclusive of the other Dissenters. But with the leave of those Wordy Gentlemen, I would say, no body is against that which is for him: And that the aversion apprehended to be in some against the *Monarchy*, rather comes from Interest then Principles: For Governments were never destroy'd by the Interests they Preserve.

In the next place, it is as plain, that there is a *Fundamental Difference* between those Churches in Religion and Interest. In *Religion*, it appears by a Comparison of the *Thirty Nine Articles* with the Doctrine of the *Council of Trent*. In *Interest*, they Differ; Fundamentally, because our Church is in the Actual Possession of the *Churches and Livings* that the other Church Claimes. What better Mixture then can these Two Churches make then that of *Iron and Clay*? Nor do I think it well judg'd, or wise in any that pretend to be Sons of the Church of *England*, to seek an Accommodation from the Topick of *Affinity*, since 'tis that sonie of her Dissenters have always Objected, and she as constantly Deny'd to be true.

I say, this Way of Reconciling or Indulging *Roman Catholicks* stumbles far greater Numbers of people of nearer Creeds, and gives the Church of *England* the Lye. But suppose the Trick took, and they only of all Dissenters

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Dissenters had Indulgence, yet Their *Paucity* consider'd, I am sure, a pair of Sir *Kenelm Digby's* Breeches would set with as good a grace upon the late Lord *Rochester's* Dwarf. Upon the whole Matter, Let Men have *Ease*, and They will keep it; For those that might Plot to Get it, would *not Plot to Lose it*. Men love the Bridge they need and Pass: And that Prince who has his People fast by Interest, holds them by the strongest humane Tye; for other Courses have fail'd as often as they have been try'd. Let us then once Try a True Liberty: Never did the Circumstances of any Kingdom lie more open and fair to so blessed an Accommodation as we do at this time.

But we are told, *The King has Promis'd to Maintain the Church of England, as by Law Establish'd*: I grant it: But if the *Church of England* claims the *King's Promise of Protection*, her *Dissenters* cannot forget *That of his Clemency*: And as they were both great, and admirably distinguish'd, so by no means are they inconsistent or impracticable.

Will not his Justice let him be wanting in the *One*? And can his Greatness of Mind let him leave the *Other* behind him in the Storm, *unpitied* and *unhelpt*? Pardon me, we have not to do with an insensible Prince, but one that has been *Touched with our Infirmitie*: More then any Body fit to judge our Cause, by the share.

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share he once had in it. Who should give *Ease like the Prince that has wanted it?* To suffer for his own Conscience, lookt Great ; but to deliver other Mens, were Glorious. It is a sort of paying the Vows of his Adversity, and it cannot therefore be done by any one else, with so much *Justice and Example.*

Far be it from me to solicit any thing in Deminution of the just Rights of the *Church of England* : Let her rest protected where she is. But I hope, none will be thought to intend her wrong, for refusing to understand the *Kings Promise* to her, in a *Ruinous sense* to all Others; and I am sure she would understand her own Interest better, if she were of the same Mind. For it is morally impossible that a *Consciencious Prince* can be thought to have ty'd himself to compel others to a Communion, that himself cannot tell how to be of; or that any thing can oblige him to shake the Firmness of those he has confirmed by his own *Royal Example.*

Having then so Illustrious an Instance of *Integrity*, as the hazard of the loss of *Three Crowns* for *Conscience*. Let it at least, excuse Dissenters *Constancy*, and provoke the Friends of the *Succession to Moderation*, that no man may lose his *Birth-Right* for his *Perswasion*, and us to live *Dutifullly*, and so *Peaceably* under our own *Vine*, and under our own *Fig-Tree*, with *Glory to God on High*, to the *King Honour*, and *Good-Will to all Men.*

A
 PERSVVASIVE
 TO
 Moderation, &c.



ODER ATION, the Subject of this Discourse, is in plainer English, **Liberty of Conscience to Church Dissenters**: A Cause I have, with all Humility undertaken to plead, against the Prejudices of the Times.

That there is such a thing as **Conscience**, and the **Liberty** of it, in reference to *Faith* and *Worship* towards God, must not be denied, even by those, that are most scandal'd at the *Ill use* some seem to have made of such Pretences. But to settle the Terms: By **Conscience**, I understand *the Apprehension and Perswasion a man has of his Duty to God*: By **Liberty of Conscience**, I mean, *A Free and open Profession and Exercise of that Duty; especially in Worship*: But I alwayes premise this **Conscience** to keep within the bounds of **Morality**, and that it be neither *Franck* nor *Mischievous*, but a *Good Subject*. a *Good Child*, a *Good Servant in all the affairs of Life*: As exact to yield to *Cesar* the things that are *Cesar's*, as jealous of withholding from *God* the thing that is *God's*: In brief, he

that acknowledges the civil *Gouverment* under which he lives, and that maintains no principle hurtfull to his Neighbour in his civil property : For he that in any thing violates his Duty to these Relations, cannot be said to observe it to God, who ought to have his *Tribute* out of it. Such do not reject their *Prince, Parent, Master or Neighbour*, but God who enjoys that Duty to him. Those Pathetick words of Christ will naturally enough reach the case, *In that ye did it not to them, ye did it not to me*; for Duty to such Relations have a divine *Stamp*: And divine Right runs through more things of the World, and Acts of our Lives then we are aware of: And Sacrilege may be committed against more than the Church. Nor will a *Dedication* to God, of the Robbery from Man, expiate the Guilt of Disobedience: For though Zeal could turn *Goffy* to Theft, his Altars would renounce the Sacrifice.

The *Conscience* then that I state, and the *Liberty* I pray, carrying so great a *Salvo* and Deference to publick and private Relations, no ill design, can with any Justice, be fixt upon the Author, or Reflection upon the Subject, which by this time, I think, I may venture to call a *Toleration*.

But to this so much craved, as well as needed *Toleration*, I meet wlth two Objections of weight, the salving of which will make way for it in this Kingdom. And the first is a Disbelief of the Possibility of the thing. *Toleration of Dissenting Worships from that establish't, is not practicable* (say some) *without danger to the State, with which it is interwoven*. This is Political. The other Objections is, *That admitting Dissenters to be in the Wrong* (which is always premised by the *National Church*) *such Latitude were the way to keep up the Dis-union, & instead of compelling them into a better Way, leave them in the possession*

possession and persuit of their old Errors. This is *Religions*. I think I have given the Objections fairly, 'twill be my next business to answer them as fully.

The strength of the first Objection against this Liberty, is the *Danger* suggested to the *State*; the Reason is, the National Form being *interwoven* with the Frame of the Government. But this seems to me only said, and not only (with submission) not prov'd, but not true: For the establisht Religion and Worship are no other ways interwoven with the Government, than that the Government makes profession of them, and by divers Laws has made them the *Current Religion*, and required all the Members of the State to conform to it.

This is nothing but what may as well be done by the Government, for any other Perswasion, as that. 'Tis true, 'tis not easie to change an establisht Religion, nor is that the Question we are upon; but *State Religions* have been chang'd without the change of the *States*. We see this in the Governments of *Germany* and *Denmark* upon the *Reformation*: But more clearly and near our selves, in the case of *Henry the eighth*, *Edward the sixth*, *Queen Mary* and *Elizabeth*; for the Monarchy *stood*, the Family *remained* and *succeeded* under all the Revolutions of State-Religion, which could not have been, had the Proposition been generally true.

The change of Religion then, does not *necessarily* change the Government, or alter the *State*; and if so, *a fortiori*, Indulgence of Church-Dissenters, does not *necessarily* hazard a change of the *State*, where the present State-Religion or Church remains the same; for That I premise.

Some may say, *That it were more facile to change from one National Religion to another, than to maintain the Monarchy and Church, against the Ambition and Faction of divers dissenting Parties.* But this is improbable at least. For it

were to say, That it is an easier thing to change a whole Kingdom, than with the Sovereign Power, followed with *Armies, Navies, Judges, Clergy*, and all the *Conformists* of the Kingdom, to secure the Government from the Ambition and Faction of *Dissenters*, as differing in their Interests within themselves, as in their Perswasions; and were they united, have neither Power to awe, nor Rewards to allure to their Party. They can only be formidable, when *headed* by the Sovereign. They may stop a *Gap*, or make, by his *Accession*, a *Ballance*: Otherwise, till 'tis harder to fight broken and divided Troops, than an entire Body of an Army, it will be always *easier* to maintain the Government under a Toleration of *Dissenters*, than in a total change of Religion, and even then it self, it has not fail'd to have been preserved. But whether it be more or less easie, is not our point; if they are many, the danger is of exasperating, not of making them easie; for the force of our Question is, Whether such Indulgence be safe to the State? And here we have the first and last, the best and greatest Evidence for us, which is *Fact* and *Experience*, the Journal and Resolves of Time, and Treasure of the Sage.

For, *First*, the *Jews*, that had most to say for their Religion, and whose Religion was *Twin* to their State (both being joyn'd, and sent with Wonders from Heaven) *Indulg'd* Strangers in their Religious Dissents. They requir'd but the belief of the *Noachical* Principles, which were common to the World: No *Idolator*, and but a *Moral Man*, and he had his *Liberty*, ay, and some *Priviledges* too, for he had an apart-*ment* in the Temple, and this without danger to the Government. Thus *Maimonides*, and others of their own Rabbies, and *Grotius* out of them.

The *Wisdom* of the *Gentiles* was very admirable in this,
that

that though they had many Sects of Philosophers among them, each dissenting from the other in their Principles, as well as Discipline, and that not only in Physical things, but points *Metaphysical*, in which some of the Fathers were not free, the School-men *deeply engaged*, and our present Academies but too much *perplexed*; yet they *indulged* them and the best Livers with singular Kindness: The greatest Statesmen and Captains often becoming *Patrons* of the Sects they best affected, honouring their *Readings* with their Presence and Applause. So far were those Ages, which we have made as the original of Wisdom and Politeness, from thinking *Tolerance* an Error of State, or dangerous to the Government. Thus *Plutarch*, *Strabo*, *Laertius*, and others.

To these Instances I may add the Latitude of old *Rome*, that had almost as many *Deities* as Houses: For *Varro* tells us of no less than **thirty Thousand** several *Sacra*, or Religious Rites among her People, and yet without a Quarrel: Unhappy fate of *Christianity*! the best of Religions, and yet her Professors maintain less Charity than Idolators, while it should be peculiar to them. I fear, it shews us to have but little of it at Heart.

But nearer home, and in our own time, we see the effects of a discreet *Indulgence*, even too Emulation. *Holland*, that *Bogg* of the World, neither Sea nor dry Land, now the *Rival* of tallest Monarchs; not by *Conquests*, *Mirriages*, or accession of *Royal Blood*, the usual wayes to Empire, but by her own superlative *Clemency* and *Industry*; for the one was the effect of the other: She cherisht her People, whatsoever were their *Opinions*, as the reasonable stock of the Country, the Heads and Hands of her Trade and Wealth; and making them easie in the main point, their *Conscience*, she became great by them: This made her fill with *People*, and they fill'd her with *Riches* and *Strength*.

And

And if it should be said, *She is upon her Declension for all that.*
 I Answer, All States must know it, nothing is here Immortal.
 Where are the Babylonian, Persian and Grecian Empires?
 And are not Lacedemon, Athens, Rome and Carthage
 gone before her? Kingdoms and Common-Wealths have
 their Births and Growths, their Declensions and Deaths, as
 well as private Families and Persons: But 'tis owing, neither
 to the Armies of France, nor Navies of England, but her own
 Domestick Troubles.

Seventy Two sticks in her Bones yet: The growing
 Power of the Prince of Orange, must in some degree, be an
 Ebb to that States Strength; for they are not so unanimous
 and vigorous in their Interest as formerly: But were they se-
 cure against the danger of their own Ambition and Jealousie,
 any body might ensure their Glory at five per Cent. But
 some of their greatest men apprehending they are in their
 Climacterical Juncture, give up the Ghoſt, and care not, if
 they must fall, by what hand it is.

Others chuse a Stranger, and think one afar off will give
 the best Terms, and least annoy them: whilst a consider-
 able Party have chosen a Domestick Prince, a Kin to their
 early Successes by the fore-Father's side (the Gallantry of his
 Ancestors) And that his own greatness and security are
 wrapt up in theirs, and therefore modestly hope to find
 their Account in his Prosperity. But this is a kind of Digres-
 sion, only before I leave it, I dare venture to add, that if
 the Prince of Orange changes not the Policies of that State,
 he will not change her Fortune, and he will mightily add to
 his own.

But perhaps I shall be told *That no body doubts that Toleration is an agreeable thing to a Common-Wealth, where every one thinks he has a share in the Government; ay, that the one is the consequence of the other, and therefore most carefully to be avoided*

by

by all Monarchical States. This indeed were shrowdly to the purpose, in *England*, if it were but true. But I don't see how there can be one true Reason advanc'd in favour of this Objection: *Monarchies*, as well as *Common-Wealths*, subsisting by the Preservation of the People under them.

But, *First*, if this were true, it would follow by the Rule of Contraries, that a *Republick* could not subsist with *Unity* and *Hierarchy*, which is *Monarchy* in the Church; but it must, from such *Monarchy* in *Church*, come to *Monarchy* in *State* too. But *Venice*, *Genova*, *Lucca*, seven of the *Cantons* of *Switzerland*, (and *Rome* her self, for she is an *Aristocracy*) all under the the loftiest *Hierarchy* in *Church*, and where is no *Toleration*, show in fact, that the contrary is true.

But, *Secondly*, this Objection makes a *Common-Wealth* the better Government of the two, and so overthrows the thing it would establish. This is effectually done, if I know any thing, since a *Common-Wealth* is hereby rendred a more copious, powerful and beneficial Government to Mankind, and is made better to answer Contingencies and Emergencies of State, because this subsists either way, but *Monarchy* not, if the Objection be true. The one professes by *Union* in *Worship* and *Discipline*, and by *Toleration* of dissenting Churches from the National. The other only by an *universal Conformity* to a National Church. I say, this makes *Monarchy* (in it self, doubtless, an admirable Government) *less Powerful, less Extended, less Propitious*, and finally *less Safe* to the People under it, than a *Common-Wealth*; In that *no Security* is left to *Monarchy* under diversity of Worships, which yet no man can defend or forbid, but may often arrive, as it hath in *England*, more than five times in the two last Ages. And truly 'tis natural for men to chuse to settle where they may be safest from the *Power* and *Mischief* of such Accidents of State.

Upon

Upon the whole matter, it is to reflect the *last Mischief* upon *Monarchy*, the worst Enemies it has could hope to disgrace or endanger it by ; since it is to tell the People under it, that they must either *conform*, or be *destroyed*, or to save themselves, turn *Hypocrites*, or change the Frame of the Government they are under. A perplexity both to *Monarch* and *People*, that nothing can be greater but the comfort of knowing the Objection is *False*. And that which ought to make every reasonable man of this Opinion, is the cloud of Witnesses that almost every Age of *Monarchy* affords us.

I will begin with that of *Israel*, the most exact and sacred Patern of *Monarchy*, begun by a valiant Man, translated to the best, and improv'd by the wisest of Kings, whose Ministers were neither *Fools*, nor *Fanaticks* : Here we shall find Provision for Dissenters. Their *Prosoliti Domicilii* were so far from being compelled to their National Rites, that they were expressly forbid to *observe* them. Such were the *Egyptians* that came with them out of *Egypt*, the *Gibeonites* and *Canaanites*, a great People, that after their several Forms worshipt in an *apartment* of the same Temple. The *Jews* with a Liturgy, they without one : The *Jews* had *Priests*, but these none : The *Jews* had variety of Oblations, these People burnt Offerings only : All that was required of them was the Natural Religion of *Noah*, in which the Acknowledgement and Worship of the true God, was, as it still ought to be, the main point ; nay, so far were they from coercive Conformity, that they did not so much as oblige them to observe their *Sabbath*, tho' one of the ten Commandments : *Grotius* and *Selden* say more. Certainly this was great Indulgence, since so unsuitable an Usage lookt like *prophaning* their Devotion, and a common *nusance* to their National Religion. One would think by this, that their Care lay on the side of preserving

preserving their Cult from the touch or accession of Dissenters, and not of forcing them, by undoing Penalties to conform, must needs be evident. For if Gods Religion and Monarchy (for so we are taught to believe it) did not, and would not at a time, when Religion lay less in the Mind, and more in Ceremony, compel Conformity from Dissenters, we hope we have got the best of Pretenders on our side.

But if this Instance be of most Authority, we have another very Exemplary, and to our point pertinent; for it shews what Monarchy may do: It is yielded us from the famous Story of *Mordecai*. He, with his *Jews*, were in a bad plight with the King, *Ahasuerus*, by the ill Offices *Haman* did them; the Arguments he used were drawn from the common Topicks of *Faction* and *Sedition*, *that they were an odd and dangerous People, under differing Laws of their own, and refused Obedience to his*; So denying his *Supremacy*. Dissenters with a witness; things most tender to any Government.

The King thus incenſt, commands the Laws to be put in Execution and decrees the Ruin of *Mordecai* with all the *Jews*: But the King is timely entreated, his Heart softens, the Decree is revokt, and *Mordecai* and his Friends saved. The Consequence was, as extream Joy to the *Jews*, so Peace and Blessings to the King. And that which heightens the Example, is the *Greatness* and *Infidelity* of the Prince: had the Instance been in a *Jew*, it might have been plac'd to his greater *Light or Piety*: In a petty Prince, to the *Paucity* and *Entireness* of his Territory; but that an *Heathen*, and King of one hundred and seven and twenty Provinces, should throughout his vast Dominions, not fear, but practise *Toleration* with good success, has something admirable in it.

If we please to remember the *Tranquility*, & success of those *Heathen Roman Emperors*, that allowed Indulgence; that *Augustus* sent *Hecatombe* to *Jerusalem*, and the wisest honou-

red the *Jews*, and at last spared the divers *Sects of Christians*, it will certainly oblige us to think, that Princes, whose Religions are *nearer of Kin*, to those of the Dissenters of our times, may not unreasonably hope for quiet from a discreet Toleration, especially when there is nothing peculiar in *Christianity* to render Princes unsafe in such an Indulgence. The admirable *Prudence* of the Emperor *Jovianus*, in a quite contrary method to those of the Reigns of his Predecessors, settled the most *Impoiled* time of the Chistian World, *almost to a Miracle*; for though he found the Hearts of the *Arian* and *Orthodox* carried to a barbarous height, (to say nothing of the *Novations*, and other dissenting Interests) the Emperor esteem-ing those Calamities the effect of Coercing Conformity to the Prince's or States Religion; and that this course did not only waste *Christians*, but expose *Christians* to the scorn of *Heathens*, and so scandal, those whom they should Convert, he resolutely declared, *That he would have none molested for the different exercise of their Religious Worship*; which (and that in a trice (for he reigned but seven Moneths) calmed the impetous Storms of Dissention, and reduced the Empire, (before agitated with the most uncharitable Contests) to a wonderful Serenity and Peace; thus a kindly Amity, brought a civil Unity to the State; which endeavours for a forc'd Unity, never did to the Church, but had formerly fill'd the Government with incomparable Miseries, as well as the Church with Incharity; and which is sad, I must needs say, that those *Leaders* of the *Church* that should have been the *Teachers* and *Examples* of Peace, in so singular a juncture of the Churches ferments, did, more then any, *blow the Trumpet and kindled the Fire of Division*. So dangerous is it to *Super-fine* upon the *Text*, and then *Impose* it upon *Penalty for Faith*.

Valantinian the Emperor (we are told by *Socrates Scholasticus*) was a great Honourer of those that favoured his own

Faith;

Faith ; but so, as he molested not the Arians at all. And *Mircellinus* further adds in his Honour, That he was much Renown'd for his Moderate Carriage during his Reign ; insomuch, that amongst sundry Sects of Religion, he troubled no man for his Conscience, imposing neither this nor that to be observed ; much less with menacing Edicts and Injunctions, did he compel others, his Subjects, to bow the Neck, or conform to that which himself worshipped, but left such Points as clear and untouched as he found them.

Gratianus & *Theodosius* the great, Indulged divers sorts of Christians ; but the *Novations* of all the Dissenters were prefer'd : which was so far from *Insecuring*, that it preserv'd the Tranquility of the Empire. Nor till the time of *Celestine* Bishop of *Rome*, were the *Novations* disturbed ; And the Persecution of them, and the Assumption of the secular Power began much at the same time. But the *Novations* at *Constantinople* were not so dealt withal ; for the Greek Bishops continued to permit them the quiet enjoyment of their dissenting Assemblies ; as *Socrates* tells us in his fifth and seventh Book of Ecclesiastical Story.

I shall descend nearer our own times ; for notwithstanding no Age has been more furiously moved, then that which *Jouianus* found, and therefore the Experiment of Indulgence was never better made, yet to speak more in view of this time of day, we find our Contemporaries, of remoter Judgments in Religion, under no manner of difficulty in this point. The Grand Signior, great Mogul, Zars of *Muscovia*, King of *Persia* ; the great Monarchs of the East have long allow'd and prosper'd with a Toleration : And who does not know that this gave Great *Tamerlan* his mighty Victories ? In these Western Countries we see the same thing.

Cardinal *D' Ossat* in his 92d Letter to *Vilroy*, Secretary

to *Henry* the fourth of *France*, gives us Doctrine and Example for the Subject in hand; "Besides (says he) that "Necessity has no Law, be it in what case it will; our *Lord* "Jesus Christ instructs us by his *Gospel*, *To let the Tares* "alone, lest removing them, may endanger the *Wheat*. That "other *Catholick* Princes have allow'd it without *Rebuke*. "That particularly the *Duke of Savoy*, who (as great a "Zealot as he would be thought for the *Catholick Religion*) "Tolerates the *Hereticks* in three of his Provinces, namely, "Angronne, *Lucerne* and *Peroise*. That the *King of Poland* "does as much, not only in *Sweedland*, but in *Poland* it self. "That all the Princes of the *Austrian Family*, that are cele- "brated as Pillars of the *Catholick Church*, do the like, not "only in the Towns of the Empire, but in their *proper* Ter- "ritories, as in *Austria* it self, from whence they take the "Name of their Honour. In *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, "Lusitiae, *Stirria*, *Camiolia* and *Croatia* the like. That *Charles*, "the fifth, Father of the *King of Spain*, was the Person that "taught the *King of France*, and other *Princes*, how to "yield to such Emergencies. That his Son, the present "King of *Spain*, who is esteemed *Arch-Catholick*, and that is, "as the *Atlas* of the *Catholick Church*, Tolerates notwithstanding, at this day, in his Kingdomes of *Valentia* and *Gra- nada*, the *Moors* themselves in their *Mihamatisme*, and has "offer'd to those of *Zealand*, *Holland*, and other *Hereticks* "of the Low-Countries, the *free Exercise* of their pretended "Religion, so that they will but acknowledge and *Obey* "him in *Civil Matters*. It was of those Letters of this extraordinary Man, for so he was (whether we regard him in his Ecclesiastical Dignity or his greater Christian and Civil Prudence), that the great *Lord Falkland* said, *A Minister of State should no more be without Cardinal d' Offat's Letters, than a Parson without his Bible*. And indeed, if we look into

France,

France, we shall find the *Indulgence* of those Protestants, hath been a flourishing to that Kingdom, as their *Arms* a Succour to their *King*. 'Tis true, that since they help't the Ministers of his Greatness to Success, that haughty Monarch has changed his Measures, and resolves their Conformity to his own Religion, or their Ruin; but no man can give another Reason for it, than that he thinks it for his turn to please that part of his own Church, which are the present necessary and unwearied Instruments of his absolute Glory. But let us see the end of this Conduct, it will require more time to approve the Experiment.

As it was the Royal Saying of *Stephen, King of Poland*, That he was a *King of Men, and not of Conscience; a Commander of Bodies, and not of Souls*. So we see a *Toleration* has been practised in that Country of a long time, with no ill Success to the State; the Cities of *Cracovia, Racovia*, and many other Towns of Note, almost wholly dissenting from the common Religion of the Kingdom, which is *Roman Catholick*, as the others are *Sosinian* and *Calvanist*, the most opposite to that, as well as to themselves.

The King of *Denmark*, in his large Town of *Altona*, but about a Mile from *Himbrough*, and therefore called so, that is, *All-to-near*, is a pregnant proof of our point. For though his Seat be so remote from that place, and another strong and insinuating State so near, yet under his *Indulgence* of divers Perswasions, they enjoy that *Peace*, and he that *Security*, that he is not upon better Terms in any of his more *Immediate* and *Uniform* Dominions. I leave it to the thinking Reader, if it be not much owing to this *Freedom*, and that a contrary course were not the way for him to furnish his Neighbours with means to Depopulate that place, or make it uneasie and chargeable to him to keep?

If we look into other parts of *Germany*, where

we

we find a Stout and War-like People, fierce for the thing they opine, or believe, we shall find the Prince Palatine of the Rhine, safe, and more potent by his *Indulgence*, witness his Improvements at *Munich*: And as (believe me) he acts the Prince to his People in other things, so in this to the Empire; for he has made bold with the Constitution of it, in the Latitude he gives his Subjects in this Affair.

The Duke of Bradenburg is himself a *Calvanist*, his People mostly *Lutherain*, yet in part of his Dominions, the *Roman-Catholicks* enjoy their Churches quietly.

The Duke of Newburg, and a strict *Roman Catholick*, Brother-in-Law to the present Emperor, in his Province of *Ju-liers*, has, not only at *Densburg*, *Mulheim*, and other places, but in *Denseldorf* it self, where the Court resides, *Lutherain*, and *Calvanist*, as well as *Roman Catholick* Assemblies.

The Duke of *Saxony*, by Religion a *Lutherain*, in his City of *Budissin*, has both *Lutherains* and *Roman Catholicks* in the same Church, parted only by a Grate.

In *Augsburg*, they have two chief Magistrates, as their *Duumvirat*, one must alwayes be a *Roman Catholick*, and the other a *Lutherain*.

The Bishop of *Osnaibrug* is himself a *Lutherain*, and in the Town of his Title, the *Roman Catholicks*, as well as *Lutherains*, have their Churches; and which is more, the next Bishop must be a *Catholick* too; for like the Buckets in the Well, they take turns, one way to be sure, so that one be but in the Right.

From hence we will go to *Sultzbach*, a small Territory, but has a great Prince, I mean, in his own extraordinary Qualities; for among other things we shall find him act the Moderator among his People. By Profession he is a *Roman Catholick*, but has *Simultaneum Religionis Exercitium*, not only *Lutherains* and *Roman Catholicks* enjoy their different

Worships

Worships, bat *alternatively* in one and the same place, the same day; so ballancing his Affection by his Wisdom, that there appears neither Partiality in him, nor Envy in them, though of such opposite Perswasions.

I will end these forregin Instances with a Prince and Bishop, all in one, and he a *Roman Catholick* too, and that is the Bishop of *Menz*; who admits, with a very Peaceable success, such *Lutherains* with his *Catholicks*, to enjoy their Churches, as live in his Town of *Erford*. Thus does Practice tells us, that neither *Monarchy* nor *Hierarchy* are in danger from a *Toleration*. On the contrary, the Laws of the *Empire*, which are the Acts of the *Emperor*, and the *Sovereign Princes* of it, have tolerated these three Religious Perswasions, *viz.* the *Roman Catholick*, *Lutherain* and *Calvanist*, and they may as well tolerate three more, for the same Reasons, and with the same Success. For it is not their *greater nearerness* or consistency in *Doctrine*, or in *Worship*; On the contrary, they differ much, and by that, and other Circumstances, are sometimes engaged in great Controversies, yet is a *Toleration* practicable, & the way of Peace with them.

And which is closest to our point at home it self, we see that a *Toleration* of the *Jews*, *French* and *Dutch Churches* in *England*, both *Dissenters* from the *National Way*: And the Connivance that has been in *Ireland*; And the down-right *Toleration* in most of *his Majesties Plantations* abroad, proves the Assertion, *That Toleration is not dangerous to Monarchy*. For Experience tells us, where it is in any degree admitted, the *King's Affairs* prosper most; *People, Wealth and Strength* being sure to follow such *Indulgence*.

But after all that I have said in Reason and Fact, why *Toleration* is safe to *Monarchy*, Story tells us that worse things have befallen Princes in Countries under *Ecclesiastical Union*, than in places under divided forms of *Worship*; and so, *desrating*

rating Countries stand to the Prince, more than upon equal terms with conforming ones. And where Princes have been exposed to hardship in tolerating Countries, they have as often come from the Conforming, as Non-conforming party; and so the *Dissenter* is upon equal terms, to the Prince or State, with the *Conformist*.

The first is evident in the *Jews*, under the conduct of *Moses*; their Dissention came from the men of their own Tribes, such as *Corah Dathan* and *Abiram*, with their pertakers. To say nothing of the *Gentiles*.

The Miseries and Slaughters of *Mauritius* the Emperor proves my point, who by the greatest *Churchmen* of his time was withstood, and his Servant that perpetrated the Wickedness by them, substituted in his room, because more officious to their Grandure. What power but that of the Church, dethron'd *Childrek* King of *France*, and set *Pippin* in his place? The miseries of the Emperors, *Henry* the fourth and fifth, Father and Son, from their rebellious Subjects, raised and animated by the power of *Conformists*; dethroning both, as much as they could, are notorious. 'T s as plain that *Sigismond* King of *Sweedland*, was rejected by that *Lutherain* Country, because he was a *Roman-Catholick*.

If we come nearer home, which is most suitable to the Reasons of the *discourse*, we find the *Churchmen* take part with *William Rufus*, and *Henry* the first against *Robert* their elder Brother; and after that, we see some of the greatest of them make Head against their King, namely *Anselm*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and his party, as did his Successor *Thomas* of *Becket* to the second *Henry*. *Stephen* Usurpt the Crown when there was a *Church Union*: And King *John* lived miserable for all that, and at last dyed by one of his own Religion too. The Dissentions that agitated the Reign of his Son *Henry* the third, and the *Barrons* War, with *Bishop Grossetas*

Blessing

Blessing to Mumford their General. The Deposition and Murther of the second Edward, & Richard, & sixth Henry, and his Son the Prince. The Usurpation of Richard the third, and the Murther of the Sons of Edward the fourth, in the Tower of London. The civil War that followed between him and the Earl of Richmond, afterwards our wise Henry the seventh were all perpetrated in a Country of one Religion, and by the Hands of Conformists. In short, if we will but look upon the civil War, that so long raged in this Kingdom, between the Houses of York and Lancaster, and consider that they professed but one and the same Religion, and both back't with numbers of Church-men too (to say nothing of the Miserable end of many of our Kings princely Ancestors in Scotland, especially the first and third James) will find cause to say, *That Church-Uniformity is not a Security for Princes to depend upon.*

If we will look next into Countries where *Dissenters* from the National Church are tolerated, we shall find the *Conformist* not less Culpable than the *Dissenter*.

The Disorders among the Jews, after they were settled in the Land that God had given them, came not from those they tolerated, but themselves. They cast off Samuel, and the Government of the Judges. 'Twas the Children of the National Church, that fell in with the Ambition of Absalom, and animated the Rebellion against his Father David. They were the same that revolted from Solomon's Son, and cryed in behalf of Jeroboam, *To your Tents, O Israel!*

Not two Ages ago, the *Church of France*, too generally fell in with the Family of Guise, against their lawful Sovereign, Henry the fourth: Nor were they without Countenance of the greatest of their Belief, who stiled it an *holy War*; at that time, fearing (not without cause) the *Defection* of that Kingdom from the *Roman See*. In this con-

juncture, the *Dissenters* made up the best part of that King's Armies, and by their Loyalty and Blood, preserved the *Blood Royal of France*, and set the Crown on the Head of that Prince. That King was twice assinated, and the last time murdered, as was *Henry the third*, his Predecessor ; but they fell, one by the hand of a *Church-man*, the other, at least by a *Conformist*.

'Tis true, that the next *civil War* was between the *Catholicks* and the *Hugenots*, under the conduct of *Cardinal Richlieu*, and the *Duke of Roan*. But as I will not justifie the Action, so their *Liberties* and *Cautions* so solemnly settled by *Henry the fourth*, as the reward of their singular Merit, being by the Ministry of that *Cardinal* invaded, they say, they did but defend their own, and that rather against the *Cardinal*, than the *King*, whose softness suffered him to become a property to the great *Wit* and *Ambition* of that Person : And there is this Reason to believe them, that if it had been otherwise, we are sure that *King Charles the first* would not in the least have countenanced their Quarrel.

However, the *Cardinal*, like himself, wisely knew when to stop : For though he thought it the Interest of the Crown, to moderate their greatness, and check their growth, yet having fresh in Memory the *Story* of the fore-going Age, he saw, 'twas wise to have a *Ballance* upon occasion. But this was more then recompenc'd in their first Adhesion to the *Crown of France*, under the Ministry and Direction of the succeeding *Cardinal*, when their Perswasion had not only Number, and many good Officers to value it self upon, but yielded their *King*, the ablest Captain of the Age, namely, *Turenne* : It was an *Hugenot* then, at the Head of almost an *Hugenot Army*, that fell in with a *Cardinal* himself, (see the *Union*, *Interest* makes)) to maintain the Imperial *Crown of France*, and that on a *Roman-Catholicks head* : And together

together with their own Indulgence, that Religion, as National too, against the pretences of a Roman-Catholick Army, headed by a Prince, brave and learned of the same Religion.

I mention not this, to prefer one party to another; for contrary Instances may be given elsewhere, as Interests have varied. In **Sweden** a Prince was rejected by **Protestants**; and in *England* and *Holland*, and many of the **Principalities of Germany**, **Roman-Catholicks** have approv'd themselves Loyal to their *Kings*, *Princes* and *States*: But this suffices to us, that we gain the Point; for it is evident in Countries where *Dissenters* are tolerated, the *Insecurity* of the Prince and Government, *may as well come from the Conforming, as Dissenting Party*, and that it comes not from *Dissenters*, *because such*.

But how happy and admirable was this civil Union between the **Cardinal** and **Turenne**? two most opposite, Religions, both followed by People of their own Perswasion: One says his *Mass*, 'tother his *Directory*, both invoke one Deity, by several wayes, for one success, and it followed with *Glory*, and a *Peace* to this Day. O why should it be otherwise now! what has been, may be: Methinks *Wisdom* and *Charity* are on that side still.

It will doubtless be objected, that the *Dissenting Party of England*, fell in with the *State Dissenter* in our late *Civil, but Unnatural War*: And this seems to be against us, yet three things must be confessed; First, That the War rather made the *Dissenters*, than the *Dissenters* made the War: Secondly, that those that were then in being, were not tolerated as in *France*, but prosecuted: And lastly, that they did not lead, but follow great Numbers of *Church-goers*, of all Qualities in that unhappy Controversie, which began upon other *Topicks* than *Liberty for Church-Dissenters*. And though they were herein blameable, Reason is Reason, in

all Climates and Latitudes. This does not affect the Question: Such Calamities are no necessary Consequences of Church-dissent, because they would then follow in all places where Dissenters are tolerated, which we see they do not: but these may sometimes indeed be the effects of a violent endeavour of Uniformity, and that under all Forms of Government, as I fear they were partly here under our Monarchy. But then this teaches us to conclude, that a Toleration of those, that a contrary course makes uneasy and desperate, may prevent or Cure Intestine Troubles; as Anno forty eight, it ended the Strife, and settled the Peace of Germany. For 'tis not now the question, how far men may be provok'd, or ought to resent it; but whether Government is safe in a Toleration, especially Monarchy. And to this Issue we are come in Reason and Fact, That 'tis safe, and that Conformists (generally speaking) have for their Interests, as rarely known their Duty to their Prince, as Dissenters for their Consciences. So that the danger seems to lie on the side of forcing Uniformity against Faith, upon severe Penalties, rather than of a discreet Toleration.

In the next place, I shall endeavour to shew the Prudence and Reasonableness of a Toleration by the great Benefits that follow it.

Toleration, which is an Admission of dissenting Worships, with Impunity to the Dissenters, secures Property, which is Civil Right, and That *eminently the Line and Power of the Monarchy*: For if no man suffer in his Civil Right for the sake of such Dissent, the point of Succession is settled without a Civil War, or a Recantation; Since it were an absurd thing to imagin, that a Man born to five Pounds a Year, should not be liable to forfeit his Inheritance for Non-conformity; and yet a Prince of the Blood, and an Heir to the Imperial Crown, should be made incapable of his Inheritance for Church-dissent.

This

The Security then of Property, or Civil Right, from being forfeitable for Religious dissent, becomes a security to the Royal Family, against the Difficulties lately labour'd under in the business of the Succession. And though I have no Commission for it, besides the great Reason and Equity of the thing it self, I dare say, there can hardly be a *Dissenter* at this time of day so void of Sense and Justice, as well as Duty and Loyalty, as not to be of the same mind. Else it were to deny that to the Prince, which he needs, and prays from him. Let us not forget the Story of *Sigismund of Sweedland*, of *Henry the fourth of Franse*, and especially of our own *Queen Mary*. Had Property been fix't, the *Line* of those Royal Families could not have met with any let or Interruption. 'Twas this Consideration that prevail'd with Judge *Hales*, though a strong Protestant after King *Edward's* Death, to give his Opinion for *Queen Mary's* succession, against that of all the rest of the Judges to the contrary: which noble President, was recompenc'd in the Loyalty of *Arch-Bishop Heath*, a *Roman-Catholick*, in favour of the Succession of *Queen Elizabeth*; and the same thing would be done again, in the like case, by men of the same Integrity.

I know it may be said, *That there is little Reason now for the Prince to regard this Argument in favour of Dissenters, when it was so little heeded in the case of the Presumptive Heir to the Crown.* But as this was the Act and Heat of Conforming men within Doors, so if it were in Counsel or Desire, the Folly and Injustice of any Dissenters without Doors, shall many entire Parties pay the Reckoning of the few busie Offendours? They would humbly hope, that the singular Mildness and Clemency, which make up so great a part of his Majesties publick Assurances, will not leave him in his Reflection here.

'Tis

'Tis the Mercies of Princes, that above all their Works, give them the nearest Resemblance to Divinity in their Administration. Besides, it is their Glory to measure their Actions by the Reason and Consequence of things, - and not by the Passions that possess and animate private Breasts: For it were fatal to the Interest of a Prince, that the *Folly* or *Undutifulness* of any of his Subjects, should put him out of the way, or tempt him to be *unsteady* to his Principle and Interest: And yet, with submission, I must say, it would be the Consequence of Coertion: For by exposing *Property* for Opinion, the Prince *exposes* the Consciences and Property of his own Family to the Church, and *disarms* them of all Defence, upon any alteration of Judgment. Let us remember that several of the same Parliament-men, who at first sacrificed civil Rights for Non-conformity in *common Dissenters*, fell at last to make the Succession of the *Crown* the *Price of Dissent in the next Heir of the Royal Blood*. So dangerous a thing it is to hazard Property to serve a turn for any Party, or suffer such Examples in the case of the meanest Person in a Kingdom.

Nor is this all the benefit that attends the *Crown*, by the preservation of Civil Rights; for the *Power of the Monarchy* is kept more entire by it. The King has the benefit of his Whole People, and the Reason of their *Safety* is owing to their *Civil*, and not Ecclesiastical Obedience: Their *Loyalty to Caesar*, and not Conformity to the Church: Whereas the other Opinion would have it, that no Conformity to the Church, *no Property* in the State: Which is to clog and narrow the civit Power; for at this rate, *No Church-Man, No English-man, and no Conformist, no Subject*. A way to *Alien* the King's People, and practise an *Exclusion* upon him, from, it may be, a fourth part of his Dominions. Thus it may happen that the ablest States-man, the bravest

Captain,

Captain, and the best Citizen may be disabled, and the Prince forbid their Imployment to his Service.

Some Instances of this we have had since his late Majesties Restoration: For upon the first Dutch-War, Sir William Penn being commanded to give in a List of the ablest Sea-Officers in the Kingdom, to serve in that Expedition. I do very well remember he presented our present King with a Catalogue of the knowingest and bravest Officers the Age had bred, with this subscrib'd, *These men, if his Majesty will please to admit of their Perswasions, I will answer for their Skill, Courage and Integrity.* He pickt them by their Ability, not their Opinions; and he was in the right; for that was the best way of doing the King's business. And of my own knowledge, *Conformity* robb'd the King at that time of Ten men, whose greater Knowledge and Valour, than some one ten of that Fleet, had in their room, been able to have saved a Battel, or perfected a Victory. I will name three of them. The first was Old Vice-Admiral Goodson; than whom, no body was more Stout, or a Sea-man. The second, Captain Hill, that in the *Saphire* beat *Admiral Everson*, hand to hand, that came to the Relief of old *Trump*. The third was Captain Potter, that in the constant *Warwick*, took Captain Beach, after eight hours smart Dispute. And as evident it is, that if a War had proceeded between this Kingom and *France*, seven years ago, the busines of Conformity had deprived the King of many Land-Officers, whose share in the late Wars of *Europe*, had made knowing and able.

But which is worst of all, such are not safe, with their dissent, under their own extraordinary Prince. For though a man were a great *Honourer* of his Prince, a *Lover* of his Country, an *Admirer* of the Government: In the course of his Life, sober, wise, industrious and useful; if a Dissenter

from

from the establish't Form of Worship, in that condition there is no *Liberty* for his Person, nor *Security* to his Estate; As *Useless* to the Publick, so *Ruin'd* in himself. For this *Net* catches the best: Men true to their *Conscience*, and who indulged, are most like to be so to their Prince: whilst the rest are left to *Cousen* him by their change; for that is the unhappy end of forced Conformity in the poor spirited Compliers. And this must always be the consequence of necessitating the Prince to put *more and other Tests* upon his People, than are requisit to secure him of their Loyalty.

And when we shall be so happy in our measures as to consider this Mischief to the *Monarchy*, it is to be hop'd, it will be thought expedient to dis-intangle *Property* from *Opinions*, and cut the untoward Knot, some men have tyed, that hath so long hamper'd and gaul'd the Prince as well as People. It will be then, when civil Punishments shall no more follow Church faults, that the *civil Tenure* will be recover'd to the Government and the *Natures* of Acts, Rewards and Punishments, so distinguish't, as *Loyalty* shall be the safety of Dissent, and the whole People made *useful* to the Government.

It will, perhaps, be objected, *That Dissenters can hardly be obliged to be true to the Crown, and so the Crown unsafe in their very Services; for they may easily turn the Power given them to serve it, against it, to greater themselves.* I am willing to obviate every thing, that may with any pretence be offer'd against our entreated *Indulgence*. I say, No, and appeal to the *King* himself, (against whom the Prejudices of our late Times ran highest, and therefore has most reason to resent) If he was ever better lov'd or serv'd, than by the Old Roundheaded Sea-men, the Earl of *Sandwich*, Sir *William Penn*, Sir *J. Lawson*, Sir *G. Ascue*, Sir *R. Stainer*, Sir *Jer. Smith*, Sir *J. Jordan*, Sir *J. Harmon*, Sir *Chris. Minns*,

Captain

Captain *Sansum, Cuttins, Clark, Robinson, Molton, Wager, Tern, Parker, Haward, Hubbard, Fen, Langhorn, Daws, Earl, White*; to say nothing of many yet living, of real Merit, and many inferior Officers, expert and brave. And to do our *Prince Justice*, he *deserv'd* it from them, by his *Humility, Plainness and Courage*, and the care and affection that he always shew'd to them.

If any say, *That most of these men were Conformists*: I presume to tell them, I know as well as any man, they serv'd the King never the better for that; on the contrary, 'twas all the strife that some of them had in themselves, in the doing that service, that they must not serve him without it; and if in that they could have been Indulged, they had perform'd it with the greatest Alacrity. *Interest* will not lye. Where People find their Reckoning, they are sure to be *True*. For 'tis want of Wit that makes any man *false* to himself. 'Twas he that knew all mens Hearts, that said, *Where the Treasure is, there the Heart will be also*. Let men be easie, safe, and upon their preferment with the *Prince*, and they will be Dutiful, Loyal, and most Affectionate.

Mankind by nature *fears* Power, and *melts* at Goodness. Pardon my Zeal, I would not be thought to plead for *Dissenters* Preferment; 'tis enough they keep what they have, and may live at their own Charges. Only I am for having the *Prince* have Room for his choice, and not be cramp't and stinted by Opinion; but employ those who are best able to serve him: And I think out of *six* Parties 'tis better picking, than out of *one* of them; and therefore the *Prince's* interest is to be head of all of them; which a *Toleration* effects in a moment; since those *six* (divided Interests, within themselves) having but one *civil Head*, become one intire *civil Body* to the *Prince*: And

I am sure, I have *Monarchy* on my side, if *Solomon* and his *Wisdom* may stand for it, who tells us, *That the Glory of a King is in the Multitude of his People.*

Nor is this all, for the Consequences of such an Universal Content would be of infinite moment to the *security* of the *Monarchy*; both *at Home* and *Abroad*. *At Home*, for it would *behead the factions without Blood*, and *Banish the Ring-leaders without going abroad*. When the great bodies of *Dissenters* see the care of the Government for their *safety*, they have no need of their *Captains*, nor *These* any ground for their *Pretences*: For as *They us'd the People to value themselves*, and raise their *Fortunes with the Prince*; so the *People followed their Leaders to get that ease*, they see their *Heads promis'd*, but could not, and the *Government can*, and does give them.

Multitudes cannot *Plot*, they are too many, and have not *Conduct* for it, they move by another *Spring*. *Safety* is the *pretence* of their *Leaders*: If once they see they enjoy it, they have yet *Wit enough not to hazard it for any Body*: For the *endeavours* of *busie men* are then *discernable*; but a *state of Severity* gives them a *pretence*, by which the *Multitude* is easily taken.

This I say, upon a *Supposition*, that the *Dissenters* could agree against the *Government*; which is a *begging* of the *Question*: For it is *improbable* (if not *impossible* without *Conformists*) since besides the *Distance* they are at in their *Perwsasions and Affections*, they dare not hope for so *good terms* from one another, as the *Government* gives: And that *Fear*, with their *Emulation*, would draw them into that *Duty*, that they must all fall into a *Natural dependance*, which I call *holding of the Prince*, as the *Great Head of the States*.

From abroad, we are as safe as from within our selves: For if

if leading Men at home are thus disappointed of their Interest in the People, *Forreigners* will find here no Interpreters of their *dividing Language*, nor matter (if they could) to work upon; for the Point is gain'd, the People they would deal in, are at their ease, and cannot be bribed; and those that would, can't deserve it.

It is this that makes *Princes* live *Independent* of their Neighbours; and *to be lov'd at home, is to be fear'd abroad*: One follows necessarily the other. Where *Princes* are driven to seek a forreign Assistance, the issue must either be the *Ruin* of the *Prince*, or the *absolute subjection* of the People; not without the hazard of becoming a Province to the power of that Neighbour that turns the Scale. These consequences have on either hand an *ill look*, and should rebate Extreams.

The *Greatness* of *France* carries those *Threats* to all her Neighbours, that, politically speaking, 'tis the *Melanchollist* prospect *England* has had to make since *Eighty Eight*: The *Spaniard* at that time, being shorter in all things but his *Pride* and *Hope*, than the *French King* is now of the same *universal Monarchy*. This greatness begun by the *eleaventh Lewis*, some will have it, has not been so much advanced by the *Wisdom* of *Richlieu*, and *Craft* of *Mazarene*, no, not the *Arms* of the present *Monarch*, as by the *assistance* or *connivance* of *England*, that has most to lose by him.

Cromwell begun, and gave him the Scale against the *Spaniard*. The Reason of State he went upon, was the support of his usurp'd Dominion: And he was not out in it; for the *Exile* of the *Royal Family* was a great part of the price of that Aid: In which we see, how much *Interest* prevails above *Nature*. It was not *Royal Kindred* could shelter a King against the *Solicitations* of an *Usurper* with the *Son* of his *Mother's Brother*.

But it will be told us by some People, *We have not degenerated,*

degenerated, but exactly follow'd the same Steps ever since, which has given such an Increase to those Beginnings, that the French Monarchy is almost above our reach. But suppose it were true, what's the cause of it? It has not been old Friendship, or nearness of Blood, or Neighbourhood. Nor could it be from an Inclination in our Ministers, to bring things here to a like issue, as some have suggested; for then we should have clogg'd his Successes, instead of helping them in any kind, lest in doing so, we should have put it into his power to hinder our own.

But perhaps our *cross* Accidents of State may sometimes have compell'd us into his Friendship, and his Councils have carefully improv'd the one, and husbanded the other, to great Advantages; and that this was more then made for our *English* Interest; and yet 'tis but too true, that the *extream Heats* of some men, that most inveighed against it, went too far to strengthen that understanding, by not taking what would have been granted, and creating an Interest at home, that might naturally have dissolved that Correspondence abroad.

I love not to revive things that are uneasily remembred, but in Points most tender to the late King, he thought himself sometimes too closely prest, and hardly held; and we are all wise enough now to say, a milder Conduct had succeed'd better: For if reasonable things may be unreasonably prest, and with such private Intentions, as induced a denial, Heats about things doubtful, unwise or unjust, must needs harden and prejudice.

Let us then create an Interest for the Prince *at Home*, and *Foreign* Friendships (at best, uncertain and dangerous) will fall of course; for if it be allow'd to *private men*, shall it be forbid to *Princes* only, to know and be true to their own Support?

It is no more than what every Age makes us to see in all Parties of men. The *Parliaments of England* since the Reformation, giving no quarter to *Roman Catholicks*, have forced them to the *Crown* for shelter: And to induce the *Monarchy* to yield them the *Protection* they have needed, have with mighty Address and Skill, recommended themselves as the great Friends of the *Prerogative*, and so successfully too, that fit were not below the Wisdom of that Constitution to reflect what they have lost by that costiveness of theirs to *Catholicks*. On the other hand, the *Crown* having treated the *Protestant Dissenters*, with the severity of the Laws that affected them, suffering the sharpest of them to fall upon their Persons and Estates, they have been driven successively to *Parliaments for Succour*, whose *Privileges*, with equal Skill and Zeal, they have abetted: And our late unhappy Wars are too plain a proof, how much their Accession gave the Scale against the Power and Courage of both *Conformists* and *Catholicks*, that adhered to the *Crown*.

Nor must this contrary Adhesion, be imputed to Love or Hatred, but *necessary Interest*: Refusal in one place makes way for Address in another. If the Scene be changed, the *parts* must follow; for as well before as after *Cromwell's* Usurpation, the *Roman Catholicks* did not only promise the most ready Obedience to that Government in his Printed *Apologies for Liberty of Conscience*: But actually treated by some of their greatest Men, with the Ministers of those Times for *Indulgence*, upon the assurances they offered to give of their good *Behaviour* to the Government, as then establish't. On the other hand, we see the *Presbyterians*, That in *Scotland* began the *War*, and in *England* promoted and upheld it to *Forty Seven*, when ready to be supplanted by the *Independants*, wheel to the King.

King. In Scotland they Crown him, & come into England with an Army to restore him, where their Brethren joyn them; but being defeated, They help, by *private Collections*, to support him abroad, and after the Overthrow of Sir G. Booth's Attempt; to almost a Miracle, restore him. And which is more, a great part of that Army too, whose *Victories* rise from the *Ruin* of the Prince they restored.

But to give the last Proofs our Age has of the power of *Interest*, against the Notion opposed by this Discourse. First, the *Independents* themselves, held the greatest *Republicans* of all Parties, were the most Livish and Superstitious Adorers of Monarchy in Oliver Cromwell, because of the regard he had to them; allowing him, and his Son after him, to be *Custos Utriusq; Tabule*, over all Causes, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, *Supream Gouvernour*. And next, the *Conformists* in Parliament, reputed the most *Loyal* and *Monarchical men*, did more than any body question and oppose the late King's *Declaration of Indulgence*; even They themselves would not allow so much Prerogative to the Crown.

This proves the Power of *Interest*, and that all Perswasions center with it: And when they see the *Government* engaging them with a fix't *Liberty of Conscience*, they must for their own sakes seek the *Support* of it, by which it is maintained. This *Union*, directed under the Prince's Conduct, would awe the greatness of our Neighbours, and soon return *Europe* to its antient *Ballance*, and that into his hand too. So that he may be the great *Arbiter* of the Christian World. But if the Policy of the *Government* places the Security of its Interest in the *Destruction* of the *civil Interest* of the *Dissenters*, it is not to be wondered at, if they are less found in the praises of its Conduct, than others to whom they are offered up a *Sacrifice* by it.

I know it will be insinuated, *That there is danger in building*

ing upon the Union of divers Interests ; and this will be aggravated to the Prince, by such as would engross his Bounty and intercept his Grace from a great part of his People. But I will only oppose to that meer Suggestion, three Examples to the contrary, with this Challange, That if after rummaging the Records of all Time, they find one Instance to contradict me, I shall submit the Question to their Authority.

The First is given by those Christian Emperors, who admitted of all sorts of *Dissenters* into their *Armies*, *Courts* and *Senates*. This, the Ecclesiastical Story of those Times, assures us, and particularly *Socrates*, *Ebagrius*, and *Onuphrius*.

The Next Instance is that of Prince *William of Orange*, who by a timely *Indulgence*, united the scattered strength of *Holland*, and, all animated by the *Clemency*, as well as *Valour* of their Captain, crown'd his Attempts with an extraordinary Glory ; and what makes, continues Great.

The last is given us by *Livy*, in his account of *Hannibal's Army* ; " That they consisted of divers *Nations*, *Languages*, *Customs* & *Religions* : That under all their successes of War and Peace, for Thirteen Years together, they never mutinied against their General, nor fell out among themselves. What *Livy* relates for a Wonder, the Marquess *Virgilio Malvezzi* gives the Reason of, to wit, their *Variety* and *Difference*, well managed by their General ; for said he, " It was impossible for so many *Nations*, *Customs* and *Religions* to combine, especially when the General's equal hand gave him more Reverence with them, than they had of affection for one another. This (says he) some would wholly impute to *Hannibal* ; but however great he was, I attribute it to the variety of People in the Army : For (adds he) *Rome's* Army was ever less given to Mutiny, when

"when ballanced with Auxiliary Legions, then when intirely Roman. Thus much in his Discourses upon *Cornelius Tacitus*.

And they are neither few, nor of the weakest sort of men, that have thought the *Concord of Discords* the firmest Basis for Government to build upon. The business is to *Tune* them well, and that must be by the skill of the *Musitian*.

In Nature we see, all Heat *consumes*, all Cold *kills*: That three Degrees of Cold to two of Heat, allays the Heat, but introduces the contrary Quality, and over-cools by a Degree; but two Degrees of Cold to two of Heat, makes a *Poize* in Elements, and a *Ballance* in Nature. And in those Families where the evenest Hand is carried, the Work is best done, and the Master is most reverenced.

This brings me to another benefit, which accrues to the *Monarchy* by a *Toleration*, and that is a *Ballance at home*: For though it be improbable, it may so happen, that either the conforming or non-conforming Party may be undutiful; the one is then a *Ballance* to the other. *This might have prevented much Mischief to our second and third Henry, King John, the second Edward, and Richard, and unhappy Henry the sixth, as it undeniably saved the Royal family of France, and secured Holland, and kept it from truckling under the Spanish Monarchy.* While all hold of the Government, 'tis that which gives the Scale to the most Dutiful; but still, no farther than to show Its Power, and awe the disorderly into Obedience, not to destroy the *Ballance*, lest It should afterwards want the means of *Over-poizing Faction*.

That this is more than Fancy; plain it is, that the *Dis-senter* must firmly adhear to the Government for his *Being*, while the *Church-man* is provided for. The one subsists by its *Mercy*, the other by its *Bounty*. This is ty'd by *Plenty*, but that by *Necessity*, which being the last of *Tyes*, and *strongest*

strongest of Obligations, the Security is greatest from him, that it is fancied most unsafe to *Tolerate*.

But besides this, the *Tranquillity* which it gives at Home, will both oblige those that are upon the Wing for *Forreign Parts*, to *pitch here again*; and at a time when our Neighbouring Monarch is wasting his People, excite those Sufferers into his Majesties Kingdoms, whose Number will encrease that of his Subjects, and their Labour and Consumption, the Trade and Wealth of his Dominions.

For what are all *Conquests* but of People? And if the Government may by *Indulgence* add the Inhabitants of *Ten Cities* to those of its own, it obtains a *Victory* without *charge*. The Antient *Persecution of France and the Low Countries*, has furnisht us with an invincible Instance; for of those that came hither on that account, we were *instructed* in most useful *Manufactories*, as by courses of the like nature, we *lost* a great part of our *Woollen Trade*. And as men, in times of danger, draw in their Stock, and either transmit it to other Banks, or bury their Talent at home for security (that being out of sight, it may be out of reach too: (and either is fatal to a Kingdom) So this mildness entreated, setting every mans Heart at rest, every man will be at work, and the Stock of the Kingdom employed; which, like the *Blood*, that hath its due passage, will give *Life* and *Vigour* to every Member in the publick Body.

And here give me leave to mention the Experiment made at Home by his late Majesty, in his Declaration of *Indulgence*. No matter how well or ill built the act of State was, 'tis no part of the business in hand, but what effect the *Liberty of it* had upon the *Peace* and *W^{ell}be^{ing}* of the Kingdom, may have instruction in it to our present Condition. 'Twas evident, that all men Laboured cheerfully, and Traded boldly, when they had the *Royal Word* to keep what they got, and

the King himself became the *universal Instructor* of Dissenters Estates. White-Hall then, and St. James's, were as much visited and courted by their respective Agents, as if they had been of the *Family*: For that which eclipsed the *Royal Goodness*, being by his own Hand thus removed, his benigne Influences drew the returns of Sweetness and Duty from that part of his Subjects, that the want of those Influences had made barren before. Then it was that we lookt like the Members of one Family, and Children of one Parent. Nor did we envy our eldest Brother; *Episcopacy*; his Inheritance, so that we had but a Child's Portion: For not only *Dissenters* vanish'd, but no matter was left for ill Spirits, forreign or domestick, to *brood* upon, or hatch to Mischief. Which was a plain proof, that it is the *Union of Interests*, and not of *Opinions*, that gives Peace to Kingdoms.

And withall Deserence to Authority, I would speak it, the *Liberty* of the Declaration, seems to be our *English Amomum* at least, the *Sovereign Remedy* to our English Constitution. And to say true, we shifted Luck as soon as we had lost it; like those that loose their *Royal Gold*, their *Evil returns*. For all Dissenters seem'd then united in their affection to the *Government*, and follow'd their Affairs without fear or distraction. *Projects* then, were stale and unmerchantable, and no body cared for them, because no body wanted them: That gentle *Opiate* at the Prince's hand, laid the most busie and Turbulent to sleep: But when the loss of that *Indulgence* made them uncertain, and that uneasie, their Persons and Estates being again exposed to pay the Reckoning of their *Dissent*, no doubt, but every Party shifted then as they could: Most grew selfish, at least, jealous, fearing one should make Bargains apart, or exclusive of the other. This was the fatal part *Dissenters* acted to their common Ruin: And I take this Partiality to have had too great a share in our

late

late Animosities ; which, by fresh Accidents falling in, have swell'd to a mighty Deluge, such an one as hath overwhelmed the former civil Concord and Serenity of the Kingdom. And pardon me if I say, I cannot see that those *Waters* are like to *assuage*, till this *Olive Branch* of *Indulgence* be some way or other restored : The *Waves* will still cover our Earth, and a spot of Ground will hardly be found in this glorious Isle, for a great Number of useful People to set a quiet foot upon. And to persue the Allegory ; what was that *Ark* it self, *but the most apt and lively Emblem of Toleration* ? A kind of natural *Temple of Indulgence*. In which, we find *two of every* living Creature dwelling together, of *both* Sexes too, that they might *propagate* ; and that as well of the *unclean* as *clean* kind : So that the *baser* and *less useful* sort were saved. Creatures never like to change their Nature, and so far from being whip't and punish't to the Altar, that they were expressly forbid. *These were Saved, these were Fed and Restored to their Antient Pastures.* Shall we be so mannerly as to complement the *Conformists* with the stile of *Clean*, and so humble as to take the *Unclean* kind to our selves, who are the *less Noble*, and more *Clownish* sort of People ? I think verily we may do it, if we may but be saved too by the *Commander* of our *English Ark*. And this the *Peaceable* and *Vir-tuous Dissenter* has the *less reason* to fear, since *Sacred Text* tells us, *'Twas Vice, and not Opinion* that brought the Deluge upon the rest. And here (to drop our Allegory) I must take leave to hope, that though the Declaration be gone, if the reason of it remain, I mean, the *Interest of the Monarchy*, the *King* and His *Great Council* will graciously please to think a *Toleration*, no Dangerous nor Obsolete thing.

But as *Toleration* has many *Arguments* for it, that are drawn from the Advantages that have & would come to the Publick by it, so there are divers *Mischiefs* that must unavoidably

fellow the *Persecution of Dissenters*, that may reasonably dissuade from such Severity. For they must either be *Ruin'd, fly or Conform*; and perhaps the last is not the *Safest*. If they are *Ruin'd* in their Estates, and their Persons *Imprison'd*, modestly computing, a *fourth* of the *Trade and Manufactury* of the Kingdom *sinks*; and those that have help't to *maintain the Poor*, must come upon the *Poors Book for Maintenance*. This seems to be an *Impoverishing* of the Publick. But if to avoid this, they *Transport* themselves, with their Estates, into *other Governments*; nay, though it were to any of his *Majesties Plantations*, the Number were far *too great* to be *spar'd* from Home. So much *Principal Stock* wanting to turn the yearly *Traffick*, and so many People too, to consume our yearly *Growth*, must issue *fatally* to the *Trade* one way, and on the *Lands and Rents* of the Kingdom the other way.

And Lastly, If they should resolve, neither to *suffer* nor *fly*, but *conform* to prevent both. It is to be enquired, if this *Cure of Church-Division* be *safe* to the *State*; or not rather, a raking up *Coals under Ashes*, for a future *Mischief*? He whom Fear or Policy hath made *Treacherous* to his own *Conscience*, ought not to be held *True* to any thing but his own *Safety and Revenge*. His *Conformity* gives him the first, and his *Resentment* of the *Force* that compels it, will on no occasion let him want the last. So that *Conformity* ~~conzens~~ no body but the *Government*: For the *State Phanatick* (which is the *unsafe* thing to the *State*), being *christen'd* by *Conformity*, he is *Elegible* every where, with Persons the most devoted to the *Prince*: And all men will hold themselves *protected* in their *Votes* by it.

A *Receipt* to make *Faction* *keep*, and *preserve* *Diss*
loyalty *against* *all Weathers*. For whereas the *nature* of *Tests*
is to *discover*; this is the way to *conceal* the *Inclinations* of
men

men from the Goverment. *Plain Dissent* is the *Prince with a Candle in His hand*: He sees the *Where* and *What* of Persons and Things: He discriminates, and makes that a rule of conduct: But forc'd *Conformity* is the *Prince in the dark*: It blows out his *Candle*, and leaves him without Distinction: Such Subjects are like *Figures in Sand*, when Water is flap't upon them, they run together, and are indiscernable: Or *written Sedition*, mace illegible by writing the *Oaths & Canons* upon it: *The safest way of blotting out Danger*.

And I know not how to forbear laying; that this *necessary Conformity* makes the Church *dangerous* to the State: For even the *Hypocrisie* that follows, makes the Church both *conceal* and *protect* the Hypocrites; which together with their *Liberality* to the *Parson*, *Charity to the Poor*, and *Hospitality to their Neighbours*, recommends them to the first favour they have to bestow. That *Fort* is *unsafe* where a part of the *Garrison* consists of *disguised Enemies*; for when they take their turns at the *Watch*, the *danger* is hardly evitable. It would then certainly be for the safety of the *Fort*, that such Friends in *Masquerade* were industriously *kept out*, instead of being *whipt in*.

And it was something of this I remember: that was made an Argument for the *Declaration of Indulgence* in the Preamble, to wit, the *greater Safety of the Government, from Open and Publick, then private, dissenting Meetings of worship*; as indeed the rest bear the like resemblance. For these were the *Topicks, quieting the People, encouraging Strangers to come and live among us, and Trade by it*; and lastly, *preventing the Danger that might arise to the Government by private Meetings*: Of greater reason then from private men, not less discontented, - but more concealed and secured by the great *Wrake of Church Conformity*. It is this will make a *Comprehension* of the next *Dissenters to the Church dangerous*, tho' it were practicable, of which side soever it be. For in an

Age,

Age, the present Government shall feel the Art and Industry of the comprehended. So that a *Toleration* is in reason of State to be prefer'd. And if the Reasons of the *Declaration* were ever good, they are so still, because the Emergencies of State that made them so, remain; and our Neighbours are not less powerful to improve them to our detriment.

But it will be now said, *Though the Government should find its account in what has been last alledged, this were the way to overthrow the Church, and encourage Dissenters to continue in their Errors.* Which is that second main Objection I proposed at first, to answer in its proper place, and that I think this is.

I humbly say, if it prove the Interest of the three considerable *Church-Interests* in this Kingdom, a *Relaxation*, at least, can hardly fail us. The three Church Interests are, That of the *Church of England*; That of the *Roman-Catholick-Dissenter*; and That of the *Protestant-Dissenter*.

That the *Church of England* ought *in Conscience and Prudence* to consent to the Ease desired.

I pray first, that it be considered, how great a reflection it will be upon her Honour, that from a *Persecuted*, she should turn a *Persecuting Church*: An overthrow none of her *Enemies* have been able to give to her many *excellent Apologies*. Nor will it be excused, by her saying, *She is in the Right*, which her *Persecutors* were not; since this is a confidence not wanting in any of them, or her *Dissenters*; and the truth is, it is but the begging of a Question, that will by no means be granted.

No body ought to know more then *Church-men*, that *Conscience cannot be forced*. That Offerings against *Conscience*, are as *odious* to God, as *uneasie* to them that make them. That God loves a *free Sacrifice*. That Christ forbade *Fire*, though from Heaven (it self) to punish *Dissenters*; and commanded that the *Tares should grow with the Wheat*

Wheat till the Harvest. In fine; that we should *love Enemies* themselves: And to exclude worldly strife for Religion; *That his Kingdom is not of this World.* This was the Doctrine of the *Blessed Saviour* of the *World*.

Saint Paul pursues the same course. Is glad Christ is Preached, be it of *Envy*; the worst ground for *Dissent* that can be. It was he that ask'd that hard, but just Question, *Who art thou that judgest another mans Servant?* *To his own Lord he standeth or falleth.* He allows the Church a Warfare, and Weapons to perform it, but they are not *Carnal*, but *Spiritual*. Therefore it was so advised, that every man in matters of Religion, should be *fully persuaded in his own mind*; and if any were short or mistaken, God would, in his time, *Inform* them better.

He tells us of *Schismaticks* and *Hereticks* too, and their punishment, which is to the point in hand: He directs to a *first* and *second Admonition*, and if that prevail not, *reject them*: That is, *refuse* them Church Fellowship, *disown* their Relation, and *deny* them *Communion*. But in all this there is not a Word of *Fines* or *Imprisonments*, nor is it an excuse to any Church, that the *civil Magistrate* executes the severity, while they are *Members of her Communion, that make and execute the Laws*.

But if the Church could gain her Point, I mean *Conformity*, unless she could gain *consent* too, 'twere but *Constraint* at last. A *Rape upon the Mind*, which may encrease her Number, *not her Devotion*. On the contrary, the rest of her Sons are in danger by their *Hypocrisie*. The most close, but watchful and *Revengeful* thing in the *World*. Besides, the *Scandal* can hardly be removed: To *over-value Coyn*, and *Rate Brass to Silver*, *Beggers* any Country; and to *swind* them for Sons she never begat; debases and *destroyes* any Church. 'Twere better to *indulge* forreign Coyn of *intrinsick Value*, and

let

let it pass for its Weight. 'Tis not Number, but *Quality*: Two or three sincere Christians, that form an Evangelical Church; and tho' the Church were less, more *Charity* on the one hand, and *Piety* on the other, with exact Church-censure, and less *civil Coertion*, would give her credit with *Conscience* in all Sects; without which, their Accession it self would be no benefit, but disgrace, and hazard to her Constitution.

And to speak prudently in this Affair, 'tis the *Interest* of the Church of England, not to suffer the Extinction of *Dissenters*, that she may have a *Counter Ballance* to the *Roman Catholicks*, who, though few in Number, are great in *Quality*, and greater in their foreign Friendships and Assistance. On the other hand, it is her Interest to *Indulge* the *Roman-Catholick*, that by his Accession, She may at all times, have the *Ballance* in her own hand, against the *Protestant Dissenter*, leaning to either, as she finds her *Doctrine* undermined by the one, or her *Discipline* by the other; or lastly, her *civil Interest* endangered from either of them.

And it is certainly the *Interest* of both those *Extreams* of *Dissent*, that She, rather than either of them should hold the *Scale*. For as the *Protestant-Dissenter* cannot hope for any Tenderness, exclusive of *Roman Catholicks*, but almost the *same Reasons* may be advanced against him; so on the other hand, it would look imprudent, as well as unjust, in the *Roman Catholicks*, to solicit any *Indulgence* exclusive of *Protestant Dissenters*. For besides that, this keeps up the Animosity, which it is their Interest to bury: The consequence will be, to take the advantage of Time, to *snatch* it from one another, when an united *Request* for *Liberty*, once granted, will oblige both Parties, in all times, for *Example* sake, to have it *equally* preserved. Thus are all Church-Interests of *Conformists* and *Dissenters*, rendered consistent

consistent and safe in their civil Interest one with the other.

But it will last of all, doubtless, be objected, That though a Toleration were never so desirable in it self, and in its consequence beneficial to the Publick, yet the Government cannot allow it, without Ruin to the Church of England, which it is obliged to maintain.

But I think this will not affect the Question at all, unless by maintaining the Church of England, it is understood that he should force whole Parties to be of her Communion, or knock them on the Head: Let us call to mind, that the Religion that is true, allows no man to do Wrong, that Right may come of it. And that nothing has lessen'd the Credit of any Religion more, than declining to support it self by its own Charity and Piety, and taking Sanctuary in the Arms, rather than the Understandings of men. Violences are ill Pillars for Truth to rest upon. The Church of England must be maintain'd: Right; but can't that be done without the Dissenter be destroyed? In vain then did Christ command Peter to put up his Sword, with this Rebuke, *He that kills with the Sword, with the Sword shall be killed;* if his Followers are to draw it again. He makes killing for Religion, Murder, and deserving Death: Was he then in the right, Not to call Legions to his assistance? And are not his Followers of these times in the wrong, to seek to uphold their Religion by any methods of Force? The Church of England must be maintain'd, therefore the Dissenters, that almost hold the same Doctrine, must be ruined. A Consequence most unnatural, as it is almost impossible. For besides that, the Drudgery would unbecome the civil Magistrate, who is, the Image of divine Justice and Clemency, and that it would fasten the Character of a False Church, upon one that desires to be esteemed a True one; she puts the Government upon a Task that is hard to be performed. Kings can no more

make Brick without Straw; than Slaves. The Condition of our Affairs is much chang'd, and the Circumstances our Government is under, differ mightily from those of our *Ancestors*. They had not the same *dissents* to deal with, nor those Dissents the like Bodies of People to render them formidable, and their Prosecution mischievous to the State. Nor did this come of the *Princes* neglect or Indulgence: There are other Reasons to be assigned, of which, the opportunities Domestick Troubles gave to their Increase and Power, and the Severities used to suppress them, may go for none of the least. So that it was as *involuntary* in the *Prince*, as to the *Church* Anxious. And under this necessity to tye the Magistrate to old measures, is to be regardless of Time, whose *fresh* Circumstances give *Aim* to the conduct of wise men in their present Actions. Governments, as well as Courts, *change* their Fashions: The *same* Cloathes will not always serve: And Politicks made *Obsolete* by new Accidents, are as *unsafe* to follow, as antiquated Dresses were *ridiculous* to ware.

Thus *Sea-men* know, and teach us in their daily practice: They *humour* the *Winds*, though they will *lie* as near as they can, and *trim* their Sails by their *Compass*: And by patience under these *constrained* and *uneven* Courses, it is they gain their Port at last. This justifies the Governments *change* of Measures from the *change* of Things; for *res nolunt male Administrari*.

And to be free, it looks more then Partial, to Elect and Reprove too. That the *Church of England* is prefer'd, and has the *Fat of the Earth*, the *Authority* of the *Magistrate*, and the *Power* of the *Sword* in her *Sons Hands*, which comprehends all the *Honours*, *Places*, *Profits*, and *Powers* of the *Kingdom*, must not be repined at: Let her have it, and keep it all, and let none dare seek or accept an *Office* that is not of her.

But

But to ruin *Dissenters* to compleat her Happiness, (pardon the Allusion) is *Calvanism* in the worst fence; for this is that *Horrendum Decretum* reduc'd to Practice: And to pursue that ill-natured Principle, *Men are civilly Damn'd for that they cannot help*, since Faith is not in Man's power, though it sometimes exposes one to it.

It is a *severe Dilemma*, that a man must either renounce that of which he makes Conscience in the sight of God, or be *civilly and Ecclesiastically Reprobated*. There was a time when the *Church of England* her self stood in need of Indulgence, and made up a great part of the *Non-conformists* of this Kingdom, and what she then wanted, she pleaded for, I mean a *Toleration*, and that in a genetal Stile, as divers of the Writings of her Doctors tell us: Of which let it be enough but to mention that excellent Discourse of Dr. *Taylor, Bishop of Down*, entituled *Liberty of Prophecy*.

And that which makes Severity look the worse in the Members of the *Church of England*, is the *Modesty* she professes about the truth of the things she believes: For though perhaps it were indefencible in any Church to compel a man to that which she were infallibly assured to be true, unless she superceeded his Ignorance by *Conviction, rather than Authority*, it must doubtless look rude to punish men into Conformity to that, of the truth of which, the Church her self pretends no certainty. Not that I would less believe a Church so cautious then one more confident; but I know not how to help thinking Persecution harsh, when they ruin People for not believing that, which they have not in themselves the power of believing, and which she cannot give them, and of which her self is not infallibly assured. The Drift of this is *Moderation*, which well becomes us poor Mortals, That for every idle Word we speak must give an account at the Day of Judgment, if our Saviour's Doctrine have any credit with us.

It would much mitigate the Severity, if the dissent were *Sullen or in Contempt*: But if men can't help or hinder their Belief, they are rather *Unhappy* than *Guilty*, and more to be *pityed* than *blamed*. However, they are of the reasonable stock of the Country, and though they were unworthy of *Favour*, they may not be unfit to *live*. 'Tis Capital, at Law, to *destroy Bastards*, and *By-blowing* are lay'd to the Parish to keep: They must maintain them at last: And shall not these natural Sons, at least, be laid at the Door of the Kingdom? Unhappy fate of *Dissenters*! to be less heeded, and more destitute then any Body. If this should ever happen to be the effect of their own Folly, with submission, it can never be the consequence of the *Government's Engagements*.

Election does not necessarily imply a **Reprobation** of the rest. If God hath elected some to *Salvation*, it will not follow, of course, that he hath absolutely rejected all therest. For tho' he was God of the *Jews*, he was God of the *Gentiles* too, and they were his *People*, tho' the *Jews* were his *peculiar People*: *God respects not Persons*, says St. Peter, the good of all Nations are accepted. The Difference at last will not be of **Opinion**, but **Works**: *Sheep* or *Goats*, all, of all Judgments will be found; and, *Come, well done*; or *Go ye Workers of Iniquity*, will conclude their *Eternal State*: Let us be careful therefore of an **Opinion-Reprobation** of one another.

We see the God of Nature hath taught us softer **Doctrines** in his great Book of the World: His *Sun shines*, and his *Rain falls upon all*. All the Productions of Nature are by *Love*, and shall it be proper to *Religion* only, to propagate by *Force*? The poor *Herr* instructs us in *Humanity*, who, to defend her feeble Young, refuses no danger. All the *Seeds* and *Plants* that grow for the use of *Man*, are *produs'd* by the kind and warm Influences of the *Sun*. 'Tis *Kindness*, that *upholds*

upholds human Race. People don't multiply in sight: And if it be by gentle and friendly ways, that Nature produces and matures the Creatures of the World, certainly Religion should teach us to be Mild and Bearing.

Let your *Moderation* be known to all men, was the saying of a great Doctor of the Christian Faith, and his Reason for that command Cagot, *For the Lord is at hand...* As if he had said, Have a care what you do, be not *bitter* nor *violent*, for the *Judge is at the Door*: Do as you would be done to, lest what you *deny* to others, God should *refuse to you*.

And after all this, shall the *Church of England* be less tender of mens *Consciences*, than our *common Law* is of their *Lives*, which had rather a *Thousand Criminals* should escape, than that *One Innocent* should perish? Give me leave to say, that there are many *Innocents* (*Conscience excepted*) now exposed, Men honest, peaceable and useful; free of ill designes; that pray for *Cæsar*, and pay their Tribute to *Cæsar*.

If any tell us, *They have, or may, ill use their Toleration*. I say, this must be look't to, and not Liberty therefore refused; for the *English Church* cannot so much forget her own Maxim to *Dissenters*, *That Propter abusum non est Tollendus usus*. It suffices to our *Argument*, 'tis no *necessary Consequence*, and that *Fact* and *Time* are for us. And if any misuse such Freedom, and entitle *Conscience* to *Misbehaviour*, we have other Laws enough to catch and punish the Offendors, without *treating One Party with the Spoils of Sic*. And when Religion becomes no mans Interest, it will hardly ever be any mans Hypocrisie. Men will chuse by *Conscience*, which at least preserves *Integrity*, though it were mistaken. And if not in the wrong, *Truth* recompences Inquiry, and *Light* makes amends for *Dissent*.

And, since a plain Method offers it self, from the Circumstances,

stances of our case, I take the freedom to present it for the
Model of the entreated Toleration.

Much has been desired, said and prest in reference to the late King's being *Head of a Protestant League*, which takes in but a part of the Christian World; the *Roman and Grecian Christians* being excluded. But I most humbly offer, that our wise men would please to think of another Title for our King, and that is *Head of a Christian League*, and give the Experiment here at Home in his own Dominions.

The Christian Religion is admitted of *All* in the *Text*, and by *All* acknowledged, in the *Apostles Creed*. Here every Party of *Christians* meet, and center as in a General. The several *Species of Christians*, that this *Genus* divideth it self into, are those divers Perswasions we have within this Kingdom; the *Church of England*, *Roman-Catholicks*, *Grecians*, *Lutherans*, *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, *Anabaptists*, *Quakers*, *Socinians*: These I call so many Orders of *Christians*, that unite in the *Text*, and differ only in the *Comment*; All owning one *Deity*, *Saviour* and *Judge*, *good Works*, *Rewards* and *Punishments*: which *Bodies* once regulated, and holding of the Prince, as *Head of the Government*, maintaining *Charity*, and *pressing Piety*, will be an *Honour* to Christianity, a *Strength* to the Prince, and a *Benefit* to the Publick: For in lieu of an *unattainable* (at best an *un-sincere*) *Uniformity*, we shall have in *Civils*, *Unity* and *Amity* in *Faith*.

The *Jews* before, and in the time of *Herod*, were divided into divers *Sects*. There were *Pharisees*, *Sadduces*, *Herodians* and *Essenes*. They maintained their *Dissent* without *Ruine* to the *Government*. And the *Magistrates* fell under *no censure* from *Christ* for that *Toleration*.

The *Gentiles*, as already has been observ'd, had their divers orders of *Philosophers*, as *disagreeing* as ever *Christians*

Christians were, & that without danger to the Peace of the State.

The **Turks** themselves show us, that both other Religions, and divers Sects of their own, are very Tolorable, with security to their Government.

The **Roman Church** is a considerable Instance to our point ; for she is made up of divers *Orders* of both Sexes, of very differing Principles, fomented sometimes to great *Feuds and Controversies* ; as between **Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits and Sorbemists** ; yet without danger to the Political state of the Church. On the contrary, she therefore cast her self into that Method, that she might *safely give vent to Opinion and Zeal, and suffer both without danger of Schism*. And these *Regulars* are by the *Popes Grants*, priviledg'd with an *Exemption from Episcopal Visitation and Jurisdiction*.

Changing then the Terms, from **Church** to **State**, the whole contrivance looks *Wise and Immitable*. For as by this, *Schism* in their **Church**, so *Faction* in our **State** may be prevented. And these civil *Regulars* depending on the civil *Power*, as those Religious ones do upon the *Popes*, will naturally, like them, become the perpetual *Votaries* of its greatness. And thus all Parties hanging, like Keys, by one Ring, at the civil *Magistrates Girdle*, tho each has its several *Lock*, he that keeps them, can open and shut every *Door*, as Persons deserve, and the publick Safety requires.

To make this more easie in *Grant and Practice*, with our *Superiors*, I humbly propose, *First*, That every *Party* do *Subscribe* an *Engagement* of their *Fidelity to the King and Government*, in Terms the most full and plain that may be : In which, as the King will have an *Account* of their *Number*, so of their principles of *Duty to the Government, and Abhorrence of all Faction and Rebellion*. Without which I would not speak a word.

Secondly, That the *Names and Abode* of all *Dissenters* above the age of sixteen be *Regestred*. As also the *Number* of their *Meetings, their place and time*.

Thirdly,

*Thirdly, That the Doors of their Meeting-Houses be ever open during their time of Worship, and that it shall be a *Præmunire* for any Dissenter to come Armed to any such Meeting of Worship.*

*Fourthly, That once in every Year, the Names of *Proselytes* be delivered in to the *Clark of the Peace* for every County, and that all of that Party, as well as those new Adherents, do renew their Obligation of Obedience by Annual Subscriptions, if required.*

*Fifthly, Because it is not impossible that some or other may mis-behave themselves, and abuse this Liberty, or be abused in the use of it. That in every County three Persons of most Emi-
nency, among *Dissenters*, be yearly Named to the Magistrates by each *Dissenting Interest*, to stand a kind of Representatives, both to inform them what they can, upon inquiry, of Persons or Things among the *People* of that *Party*, which may in the least be thought to affect the Government, and to have redress of Injuries done to Persons in the sober use of their allowed Liberty.*

*And Lastly, Because this *Freedom* will be best kept and improved to the publick Benefit, by maintaining a good and charitable Understanding between the divers Orders of *Christians* within themselves: I were farther requisit, That, No *Nick-Names* were continued, and all Terms of *Reproach*, on all hands, pu-
nishable: And That Controversial Points were carefully avoided, and *Vice* decry'd, and *Holiness* prest, *Without which* (St *Paul* af-
fures us) *no man shall see the Lord.**

These are the *Methods* that have had most weight with me, and the best I know to create a Reciprocal Confidence and Interest between the *Prince* and his *Conforming* and *Dissenting* *People*: To be sure, this Course hath succeeded well else-where, even in *Monarchical States*; And therefore in it self not inconsistent with *Monarchy*, and very agreeable to *Christianity*.

*God Almighty inspire the KING's Heart, and the Hearts of
his Great Council, to be the Glorious Instruments of this
Blessing to the Kingdom.*

I shall conclude this Perswasive with the Judgment of some *Pious Fathers* and *Renowned Princes*.

Qquadatus and **Aristides**, wrote two *Apologies* to **Adrian**, for the Christian Faith, and against the Persecution of it.

Justin Martyr, an excellent Philosopher and Christian, writ two learned *Disswatives* against Persecution, which he dedicated (as I take it) to *Antoninus Pius*, and *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*.

Melito, Bishop of *Sardis*, a good and learned man, writ a smart Defence for the Christian Religion, and a Toleration, dedicated to *Verus*.

Tertullian, in his most sharp and excellent *Apology* for the Christians, fastens *Persecution* upon the *Gentiles*, as an inseperable Mark of *Superstition* and *Error*; as he makes the *Christian Patience* a *Sign of Truth*. In his Discourse to *Scapula*, he layes, *'Tis not the property of Religion to Persecute for Religion; she should be received for her self, not Force.*

Hilary, an early and learned Father, against *Auxentius*, saith, *The Christian Church does not persecute, but is persecuted.*

Atticus, Bishop of *Constantinople*, would by no means have the Minister of *Nice* to respect any Opinion or Sect whatsoever, in the Distribution of the Money sent by him for the Relief of Christians; and by no means to prejudice those that practise a contrary Doctrine and Faith to theirs: That he should be sure to relieve those that hunger & thirst, and have not wherewith to help themselves, and make that the rule of his consideration. In short, he made the *Hereticks* to have his Wisdom in Admiration, in that he would by no means trouble or molest them.

Proclus (another Bishop of *Constantinople*) was of this Opinion, *That it was far easier by fair means to allure unto the Church, than by force to compell*: He determined to vex no

Sect whatever, but restored to the Church the renowned Virtue of Meekness required in Christian Ministers.

If we will next hear the Historians own Judgment, upon a Toleration, I am of opinion (says he) that he is a Persecutor, that in any kind of way molests such men as lead a quiet and peaceable Life. Thus **Socrates** in his third Book: In his seventh, he tells us, That the Bishop of Sinada, indeed, did banish the Hereticks, but neither did he this (says he) according to the Rule of the Catholick Church, which is not accustomed to persecute, (l. 7.)

Lactantius, tells the angry men of his time, thus, If you will, with Blood, Evil and Torments defend your Worship, it shall not thereby be defended, but polluted.

Chrysostom saith expressly, That it is not the manner of the Children of God, to persecute about their Religion, but an evident Token of Antichrist.

Thus the Fathers and Doctors of the first Ages. That Emperors and Princes have thus believed, let us hear some of greatest note, and most pressing to us.

Jerom, a good and learned Father, saith, That Heresie must be cut off with the Sword of the Spirit.

Constantinus, the Father of **Constantine** the great, laid this down for a Principle, That those that were Disloyal to God, w^ould never be trusty to their Prince. And which is more, he liv'd thus, and so dy'd, as his great Speech to his great Son, on' his Death-bed, amply evidences.

Constantine the Great, in his Speech to the Roman Senate, tells them, There is this difference between Humane and Divine Homage and Service, that the one is compell'd, and the other ought to be free.

Eusebius Pamphili, in the Life of **Constantine**, tells us, that in his Prayer to God, he said, Let thy People, I beseech thee, desire and maintain Peace, living free from Sedition to the common good and benefit of all the World; and those that are led

ted away with Error, let them desire to live in Peace and Tranquility with the faithful: for friendly humane Society and Commerce with them, will very much avail to bring them to the right way. Let no man molest another, but let every one follow the Perswasion of their own Conscience: But let those that have a true Opinion concerning God, be perswaded, that such as regulate their Lives by Gods holy Laws, do lead an holy and upright Life: But those that will not conform thereunto, may have liberty to erect and set up Altars. But we will maintain the Church and true Religion, which thou hast committed to our Defence. Moreover, we desire that they may joyfully receive and wellcome this general offer of Peace and Concord.

This was the Judgment of the most celebrated Emperor that ever professed the *Christian Faith*. I have cited other Emperors in the Body of this Discourse; but because the worst are to be commended when they do well, Malens himself, charm'd with the sweetness and strength of the Philosopher *Themistius* in his elegant Oration, grew moderate towards the Orthodox, whom a little before he had severely treated: Of which these were the heads; That he persecuted without reason, People of good Lives: That it was no crime to think or believe otherwise than the Prince believed: That he ought not to be troubled at the diversity of Opinions: That the Gentiles were much more divided in their Judgment than the Christians: That it sufficeth, that every Sect aimed at the Truth, and lived virtuously. We have had Modern Royal Examples too.

Stephen, King of Poland, declared his Mind in the point controverted, thus, *I am King of Men, and not of Conscience; a Commander of Bodies, and not of Souls.*

The King of Bohemia was of opinion, That mens Consciences ought in no sort to be violated, urged or constrained.

And Lastly, let me add (as what is, or should be of more force) the fense of King James and King Charles the

first

first, Men, as of supream Dignity, so famed for their great Natural Abilities and acquired Learning, It is a sure Rule in Divinity (said King James) that God never loves to plant his Church by Violence and Bloodshed. And in his Exposition on the twentieth of the Revelations, he saith, *That Persecution is the note of a false Church.*

And in the Advice of King Charles the first, to the late King, he says, *Take heed of abetting any Factions; your partial adhearing to anyone Side, gains you not so great Advantages in some mens hearts (who are prone to be of their King's Religion) as it loseth you in others, who think themselves, and their Profession, first despised, then persecuted by you.*

Again, Beware of Exasperating any Factions by the crofness & asperity of some mens Passions, Humors or private Opinions, imployed by you, grounded only upon their difference, in lesser matters, which are but the Skirts and Suburbs of Religion; wherein a Charitable Connivance and Christian Toleration, often dissipates their strength, whom Rougher Opposition fortifies, and puts the despised and oppressd Party into such Combinations, as may most enable them to get a full Revenge on those they count their Persecutors, who are commonly assisted by that vulgar Commiseration that attends all that are said to suffer under the Notion of Religion.

Always keep up Solid Piety, & those fundamental Truths (which mend both Hearts and Lives of men) with impartial Favour and Justice. Your Prerogative is best shewn and exercised in Remitting, rather than Exacting the Rigour of Laws; there being nothing worse than Legal Tyranny.

To which Excellent Wisdom (so excellently expressed) King James the Second is the undoubted Heir, with the Imperial Crown, to whose Descent and Succession it was given, and it does belong. And so,

Vivat REX.

ERRATA

Page.	Line.	Error.	Corrected.
9	3	Must,	this must.
10	10	Hearts,	Heats.
10	20	impestuous,	impetuous.
11	27	Zars,	Czars.
15	23	both,	all.
18	25	first,	fixt.
20	15	Reason and,	dele.
29	25	his,	their printed.
32	7	by,	dele.
34	18	Ieast,	last.
37	25	like,	same.
38	1	present Government,	present Frame of
48	30	declined,	Government. decry'd.

ATAVISM

1880-1881

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